S SR 369 [162] /381 cont./ inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

S SR 369 162 [563] The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

S SR 582 794 [563] A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

S SR [177] 1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

S SR 162 369 /382/ An examination of the male and economically active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

leaders had to work so ardently and patiently many decades later. Where it has often seemed to be the policy of European powers to divide and rule, here the French positively encouraged the creation of a Senegalese identity. Faidherbe created the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, whereas Lugard called his force the Hausa Constabulary. For many years, Senegal has had a romantic and sentimental place in the eyes of the French, and the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, who in fact enjoyed the services of recruits from all over West Africa, are known by most Frenchmen for their services to France in both world wars. This concept of national as distinct from tribal identity in the *Quatre Communes* also influenced the educated élite from the Protectorate who were determined to participate in the privileges of the *originaires*.

A policy of assimilation that has the aim of eradicating the African past and the creation of 'black Frenchmen', when applied thoroughly, did in fact help to eliminate tribal differences and create a new common culture. In particular, education, which grouped children of different ethnic groups side by side, made no concession to local circumstances. They were taught about 'our ancestors the Gauls' and in the best schools standards were the same as those in France. Instruction was in French from the very first years, and the school uniform was in European style. They were thus given a common meeting ground from the earliest age, with almost no concessions made to their own ethnic differences. Large numbers of Senegalese have been to France for their education ever since the days of Faidherbe, and in France they found themselves automatically dubbed as Senegalese, for few Frenchmen had time for the niceties of tribal distinctions.

It is not surprising, then, that particularly among young men many friendships were made outside the tribe. Indeed today in Dakar it would be rare to find a young man with primary education who could not count many friends from outside his own ethnic group. Marriage presented different problems. For if the young man had overcome sensitivities

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

about tribe, the women, who in a Muslim society rarely gained the opportunity of education, tended naturally to be more conservative in such matters. Nevertheless many *originaires* have married outside their ethnic group and can claim to be Senegalese and Senegalese only, for how else, they ask, can they describe themselves when one grandparent is Wolof, another Toucouleur and yet another Serer? This is by no means common in Senegal, but its highest incidence is amongst the most assimilated groups in Senegal.

One of the most difficult barriers to break down in African tribal society is that of the taboo on marriage outside the tribe or clan. Onuora Nzekwu in his *Wand of Noble Wood* gives a very illuminating study of this problem. In Senegal however, there is an exceptionally high rate of inter-ethnic marriage for Africa. Mercier, in his study of Dakar, observed that the rate of inter-ethnic marriage was below the Senegalese average amongst the Diola, Serer, and Wolof where endogamy is clearest, whilst the Bambaras and groups of the south, and particularly the Lebou who are inter-marrying increasingly with the Wolof, were above the average. Out of 696 monogamous families investigated, 71 per cent had married a woman of the same tribe, but the figure of 29 per cent for mixed marriages must be considered extremely high for Africa. Out of 228 polygamous families interviewed 43 per cent were all of the same ethnic group but 57 per cent had at least one wife of different ethnic origin. The highest incidence of inter-ethnic marriages in Dakar occurs amongst clerks, administrators, employees of commercial houses and the professional classes, i.e. those who have been most affected by French assimilation and for whom ethnic considerations are considerably less important than for the peasant, who is so much closer to the traditional concepts of the tribe. There is then in Dakar, and one could apply this to other main towns, a significant increase in inter-ethnic marriages, though as far as Senegal as a whole is concerned ethnic considerations in marriage are still very important. But the multiplication

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese.

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine.

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the

5; Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.'

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors.

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus:

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers)
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.)

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

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143 used in population genetics for the construction of models indicating the mode of evolution of a concentration of genes in the course of time. In this general hypothesis it is postulated that: the population is closed; marriage is random; fertility is the same for all couples. If in this case the population is unlimited, the frequency of the three varieties of zygotes, A/A, A/a, a/a (monohybrid diallel), remains constant from generation to generation (Hardy-Weinberg Law, N. D.L.R.).

/666/ /Map No. 1 appears here./

143 ●582 The actual situation is entirely different; the social stratification entails very strict endogamy at the ethnic and caste level, endogamy reinforced by preferential marriages as well as by residential proximity. Some authors (1), Soh [1], Gaden [2], M'Bow [3], have already described the origin and causes of these local ethnic and social differences and also the types of marriages, but quantitative observations only permit one to measure endogamy. After reviewing the method of study used, we shall indicate the principal results of these observations.

1. The numbers in brackets refer to the bibliographic references at the end of the article.

128 143 Method of study. In Europe, and notably in France, consanguinity and geographical endogamy have been determined by means of the frequency of marriages from the third to the sixth degree inclusive, that is to say, especially between first and second cousins, and also by studying the distance between the domiciles of future spouses. It is possible to know the frequency

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162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

•587 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present [582] a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

S /669 cont./ 1
567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to
422 menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
421 slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
623 of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

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564 It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
463 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

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582 Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
565 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception:
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567 it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

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565 The system of castes is still very much alive, especially among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

1 [i.e., The captives -- Analyst]

S /670 cont./
565 has been the dominant class since the Islamic revolution. In former times many strangers from neighboring countries would come to follow the teachings of the marabouts, to settle around them, and, thanks above all to Islam, to join this caste, which at present seems more closed and now tends to be less heterogeneous.

The social stratum which comes next is that of the tiédo and the thioubalo. It is believed that their ancestors were the first occupants of the soil, and they have preserved their traditions, the tiédo as farmer and the thioubalo as fisherman. The caste of fishermen is quite closed and has its own hierarchy with its captives, its free men, and its dynasty.

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582 The tiédo caste sometimes intermarried with the fishermen
565 and the torobé. Also free, but of an inferior social rank, are the trade castes. The general name for them, "gnégno," indicates a relationship of dependence vis-à-vis the above castes. Woodcutters (labo), blacksmiths (bailo), shoemakers (saké), and weavers (mabo) in principle intermarry indiscriminately. In contrast, the griots (gaoulo), who specialize in the singing of praises, marry only among themselves and sometimes with the blacksmiths.

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565 Finally, at the bottom of the social hierarchy is the group
569 of captives and former captives. There is a distinction between the freed (gallounké) and the captive (mathioudo), but they are in fact united by the same prejudice which the other castes have with regard to them.

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565 The social structure of the other ethnic groups is of the same type as that of the Toucouleur, with the exception of a few details; for instance, the diawando was originally the attendant or the courtier of the large Peul families and seems to form a differentiated caste at present. The caste of fishermen does not exist among
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[565 the Peul, for they do not fish, or among the Wolof all of whom
006] can engage in fishing.

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582 If we limit ourselves to the Toucouleur group, the only
143 one for which we know the actual number in the valley, we shall be able to estimate the numerical importance of the various endogamous groups and consequently the number of women with whom marriage is possible (Table II). For certain castes, few in number, such as those of the artisans, the results of the sampling,

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582 however, permit only an approximation.
143 Be that as it may, an examination of the figures of Table II shows some very important numerical differences between one group and another, since for each of the 11 groups, the actual number varies from 1,100 individuals to 84,200, and that of the women from 15 to 45 years of age from 250 to 18,700. This fragmentation of the population into isolates by the system of castes is particularly noticeable on the artisan level where the average actual number does not exceed 2,000 persons. By this mechanism a high degree of endogamy is maintained, which determines some important phenomena. It is easily seen, for example, that the phenomena /671/ /Table II appears here/ of genetic drift (1) have acted in the course of time

> 1. Genetic drift: in the case of a population of limited number the frequency of a given gene may drift randomly, in the course of generations, within the range of possible values, contrary to that which occurs in panmixia, where this frequency remains constant (N.D.L.R.).

so as to promote the disappearance or, on the contrary, the appearance of certain morphological characters and their retention in these partial populations.

S Proximity of residence. The conditions noted above are
582 aggravated by the fact that the Toucouleur country stretches in
143 a strip of land of about 300 kilometers; such a great distance greatly decreases the chances of marriage between individuals from distant residences, and the figures we have just given are therefore reduced to those of surrounding villages.

S This is perhaps in part the reason for the regrouping in
[565] certain regions of a less numerous endogamous group such as that of the griots.

As in all countries, distance actually plays an important
S part in the possibilities for marriage. We shall not study this
[565] phenomenon here, for within a given caste the radius of marriage

[Text continues on P. 11--Analyst]

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Table II. Actual number of the endogamous Toucouleur groups, with, for each one, their percentage in relation to the total population, and the number of women from 15 to 45 years of age

Caste	Actual Number	%		Number of women from 15 to 45 years of age	
Torodo	84,200	45.0	74.0	18,700	
Tiédo	13,700	10.0		7,150	
Thioubalo	32,200	17.2		4,150	
Diawando	3,400	1.8			
Labo	2,100	1.1	4.5	450	1,850
Saké	1,100	0.6		250	
Mabo	2,300	1.2		500	
Ballo	2,200	1.6		650	
Gaoulo	2,100	1.1	1.1	450	1,100
Gallounké	5,800	3.2	20.4	1,300	8,450
Matioudo	32,200	17.2		7,150	
Total	187,000	100.0		41,900	

S /671 cont./
582 does not actually express the probability of a union between two
143 individuals of a given domicile, since this schema is distorted
[565] by preferential marriages. Nevertheless, in a rural environment, the census according to place of birth shows that 84.2% of the women from /672/ /Table III appears here/ 15 to 45 years of age, most of whom were married, were born in the village of their residence. The men, therefore, in the majority, marry women from their own village.

Preferential marriages. To the probability of unions between individuals of a close degree of kinship in the groups already restricted is added the preference for these same marriages, which extends the endogamic system of castes. But if the ethnic group and the caste determine a negative choice, certain variables bring about on the contrary, a positive choice, chief of which is the customary preference for unions between close relatives, in particular between first cousins. The inquiry showed that in the whole of the zone studied (Haratin Moors not included) the proportion of marriages of the fourth, fifth, and sixth degrees rises to almost 28% of the total. The figure varies according to the ethnic groups, as is indicated in Table III.

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[582] The percentage of marriages between first cousins (fourth degree) in fact extends from 10.1 among the Wolof to 16.8 among the Saracolé; between cousins of an uneven degree (fifth
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[582] degree) the percentage goes from 2.2 among the Saracolé to 7.1 among the Wolof, and between first cousins (sixth degree) from
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[582] 10.5 among the Toucouleur to 14.5 among the Peul. Among the Toucouleur and the Peul there are practically as many marriages between first cousins as between second cousins: 10.4% as against 10.5% in the one case, 14.5% and 14.5% in the other.
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[582] Only the Wolof have more marriages between second cousins, 13% as against 10.1%. Among the Saracolé, the more numerous unions
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T between first cousins (16.8%) than between second cousins (10.9%) confirm what is known about family cohesion in this group.
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143 Within each ethnic group the frequency of cansanguineous
565 marriages varies more noticeably according to the castes. In Table IV we have assembled the absolute numbers of consanguineous

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Table III. Percentage of consanguineous marriages according to the degree of kinship in the different ethnic groups in the valley of the Senegal. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Ethnic Group	Number of women interrogated	% of consanguineous marriages according to degree of kinship			Total	Mean Coefficient of consanguinity $F \times 10^3$
		4th D	5th D	6th D		
Toucouleur	3,865	10.4	4.2	10.5	25.1	7.6
Peul	1,135	14.5	6.8	14.5	35.9	12.2
Wolof	731	10.1	7.1	13.0	30.2	9.5
Saracolé	270	16.8	2.2	10.9	29.9	12.7
Total	6,208	11.3	5.0	11.3	27.6	8.7

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marriages and their percentages in the four principal castes of the Toucouleur. The percentage of these marriages /673/ /Table IV appears here/ varies from 10.7 among the captives to 44.4 among the artisans; the figure increases among the fishermen to 32.2 and to 35.6 among the Torobé. The relatively weak proportion observed among the captives (10.7%) is due to the fact that the latter came from different regions, according to the accident of wars, but it shows that they have nevertheless adopted the custom of their masters.

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The customary nature of these marriages is shown by the fact that certain types of unions between cousins are preferred to others. The number of marriages of the fourth degree, the type of which we have noted, although small (47), nevertheless tends to confirm the preference for marriages with the daughter of either

[Text continues middle of p.13--Analyst]

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Table IV. Absolute numbers of consanguineous marriages and their percentage in the principal Toucouleur castes. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Caste	Number of couples interrogated	Consanguineous Marriages 4th D Nos.	5th D Nos.	6th D Nos.	Total Nos.	Total %	Coefficient of consanguinity F X 10^3
Torobé	101	15	6	14	35	35.6	10.9
Fishermen	56	8	4	6	18	32.2	8.2
Artisans	27	7	1	4	12	44.4	13.6
Captives	93	6	0	4	10	10.7	4.2

S 582 143 the mother's brother (19) or the father's brother (15), rather than the daughter of the mother's sister (8) or of the father's sister (4). These consanguineous marriages represent the most strict form of endogamy. The others reflect the same tendency, but are practiced in a larger framework, lineage, clan, the extent of which we have not been able to evaluate. There are also traditional unions between two or more families, which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

Actual endogamy. The results observed in the valley of the Senegal cannot be extended to the Sahelo-Sudan region and still less to the western part of Africa. From analogous studies now in progress, we shall soon know whether the situation is comparable in the other regions of the Senegal and the Sudan.

In the valley the frequency of marriages of the fourth to the sixth degree inclusive ranks among the highest yet observed anywhere in the world. Freire-Maia in 1957 [10] collected data on this point, followed by Serra and Soini in 1959 [11] in this same journal. The measure which gives the best

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representation of the degree of endogamy in a population is the mean coefficient of consanguinity (1). Its value, multiplied by

1. The mean coefficient of consanguinity of a population represents the probability that two homologous loci of an individual taken at random in the population under consideration are identical. Two analogous conclusions exist in the literature on genetics: the coefficient F of Wright and the a of Bernstein. For more details, see Serra and Soini, Population, 1959, pp. 70-72 (N.D.L.R.).

1,000, has been reported /674/ here in Tables III and IV for each of the partial populations studied. It is a little less than one would have expected from the frequency of consanguineous marriages. If there is, in fact, a not insignificant number of double cousins among the spouses, one also finds an important number of cousins descended from half brothers or half sisters. Nearly one-half of the consanguineous unions concern individuals of this category because of the frequency of successive and simultaneous unions (polygamy).

For the whole of the ethnic groups studied (Table III), its value reaches 8.7, and for each of the specific ethnic groups: Toucouleur 7.6; Wolof 9.5; Peul 12.2; Saracolé 12.7. For the Toucouleur castes (Table IV) one finds the following values: captives 4.2; fishermen 8.2; torobé 10.9; artisans 13.6.

Comparisons with other countries. The highest coefficient found up to now, 24.08 (Ishikuni and Coll., 1960 [12]) concerns a Japanese island, Hosojima, populated by 125 inhabitants, which thus represents a very small isolate and is mentioned only incidentally with reference to the demographic conditions in which most human populations live.

In order to appreciate the high endogamic level of the valley of the Senegal, let us emphasize that one finds analogous figures for the present day only in Brazil (Freire-Maia,

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143 1957 [13]): diocese of Oeiras in the state of Piauí, 9.67 for 1,931 marriages in 1954; diocese of Petrolina in the state of Pernambuco, 8.3 for 3,063 marriages in 1950, etc. These figures are exceptional for this country. Very often the value of the coefficient in each diocese is below 1.

Even the castes of India do not furnish comparable figures: 1.3 among the Desasth Rigvedi Brahmans; 2.8 among the Gaud Saraswat Brahmans; 6.35 among the Marathas. Nor even a closed tribe like the Ramah Navaho of the United States: 6.6. In Japan where a strong endogamy persists, the figures found so far are between 2.8 and 3.6.

In the countries of Europe, since the breakup of the isolates took place, the value of the coefficient is everywhere less than the unit. In the French provinces it varies at the present time between 0.1 and 0.9.

For the African populations the data are still very scarce. As far as we know, only Roberts, 1956 [14], has given figures for three Dinka groups from the valley of the Nile to the Sudan: 1.53, 0.96, 0.49. These figures are very far from those for the valley of the Senegal. Nevertheless, Tanner, 1958 [15], in an Islamic community of Tanganyika, has found a rate of 37.8% for marriages between cousins, which should correspond to a mean coefficient of consanguinity bordering on those reported here.

582 143 Evolution. The inaccuracy of historical knowledge makes it impossible to say whether the endogamic state described has always been so important, but one may assume that the present situation will be modified in the years /675/ to come. Several factors could play a part in an evolution toward exogamy, for example, migrations, the size of families, social barriers.

The role of migration is negligible here, for even though [166] the Wolof and the Saracolé have founded some villages of foreigners within Toucouleur country, the Fouta is now a country of active emigration toward urban centers like Dakar. The average size [169] of families is probably increasing because of the prolongation of the average length of life, which tends to increase the possibilities

S /675 cont./
582 of consanguineous marriages. More important, undoubtedly than the
143 above two will be the factors of the decrease of endogamy by the
[162] dissolution of social barriers, although the prejudice against misalliances seems as long-lived as the human species.

Whether sudden or progressive, this social revolution, furthered by education, will sooner or later bring about the development of means of communication and the emancipation
S of the woman as well as of the man, for its is often the parents who
[584] choose the bride, rather than the future bridegroom.

W In addition, one notes among the Wolof a smaller proportion of consanguineous marriages in the ports than in the villages.
[582] [369]

As in Europe, but for different reasons, this evolution will result in the "breakup of the isolates," the social and ethnic frontiers going back to those of the nation.

Conclusion

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143 The demographic inquiry by sampling carried out in the valley of the Senegal has made it possible to measure endogamy on the basis of the frequency of consanguineous marriages and the mean coefficient of consanguinity. The figures obtained are by far the highest that are now known for populations of such numerical importance. This peculiarity causes the populations concerned to evolve under very special biological circumstances which are not without reverberations on their demographic condition. (See Sutter [16].) An investigation in this direction is being pursued.

The genetic aspect of the situation should no longer be ignored, and anthropologists concerned with the mechanism of the differentiation of human types will find the material for taking into consideration the intervention of a factor which is also important.

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/See the foreign text for the bibliography on p. 676 of the original text./

[10 cont.]

369 581 consequences with regard to celibacy and the orientation of manners and customs? This will be the last part of this too brief sketch.

What is the origin of the expenses?

It is in large part in the social organization of the Senegalese Blacks before the introduction of Islam and before the French peace.

584 583 Marriage then depended upon the wishes of the fathers and mothers of the spouses. The marriage portion imposed was enormous, even though proportional to the social rank of the fiancé and to his wealth. It was made up of captives and animals. In return, the wife, in order to maintain her dignity in the eyes of the husband and the co-spouses, joined her new residence with often as much wealth as she had received. This perhaps is the origin of the frequent unions between cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew. The purpose of this for the family was to keep its wealth concentrated.

[582]

As Moslems, we have introduced the Koran and the Koranic marriage portion, different for a slave and for a free woman, with an assessment proportional to the wealth of the husband, but which is principle requires no costly pomp and which is not preoccupied with griots [singers, poets, storytellers].

With the French peace, the captives have been withdrawn from the exchanges, and the idea of replacing them with gold, money, or animals (now very vulgar property) prevails.

369 584 178 But with freedom the horizon was also widened. The suitors, formerly localized and nearly always known in advance, have multiplied. One originally from the Fouta is quickly transported to Sène and, without bloodshed, without abduction, can marry a girl whom many young men dream of winning. The rivalries, which not long ago were settled on the field of battle or by thrusts of daggers, have perpetuated themselves under the indifferent eyes of the Whites, but on the field of marriage and by thrusts of gold or banknotes (diamalé, rivalry for a woman).

[10 cont.]

369 533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one [583] can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 565 582 [584] This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the [631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

[12 cont.]

369 178 [884] [681] [562] always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Although this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a [587] reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long 369 178 562 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table [191] in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French. They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution, and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which, within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the [595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [évoluées] women generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodically distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination. [578]

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

/21 cont./

as the extremely variable extension of marriage prohibitions shows.

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The local unit coincides more or less completely with the kinship group delineated by the line of dominant filiation; a village quarter is in principle the habitat of a given lineage.

Marriage is not a commitment between two individuals, guaranteed by a state or religious body (3), but the conclusion [581]

3. This guarantee intervenes among the Moslems, but in most cases does not play the essential role.

of an agreement between two kinship groups, an agreement which assumes, directly or indirectly, the form of an exchange of forces. The networks of matrimonial alliances, while permitting each kinship group to maintain and increase its substance, create bonds, constantly reinforced, between diverse groups, thus assuring the cohesion of the ethnic group that their assemblage composes. Therefore, in the vast majority of cases, one does not conceive of marriage outside the ethnic group. [582]

Even in the systems of patrilineal filiation, the maternal line is likewise a source of obligations. In particular, in most populations -- and very especially in Senegal -- the role of the uterine uncle is important (4). [604]

4. Cf., as far as the Lebou are concerned, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

It is important to keep these basic elements in mind in the course of the account that we shall give about the problems that are posed at present.

/22/ We shall first give some figures expressing certain